

IMMIGRATION

REFERENCE TO ITS CAUSES AND ITS EFFECTS UPON
THE GROWTH AND ETHNICAL CHARACTER OF THE
POPULATION OF THE UNITED STATES

BY

DR. M. VICTOR SAFFORD

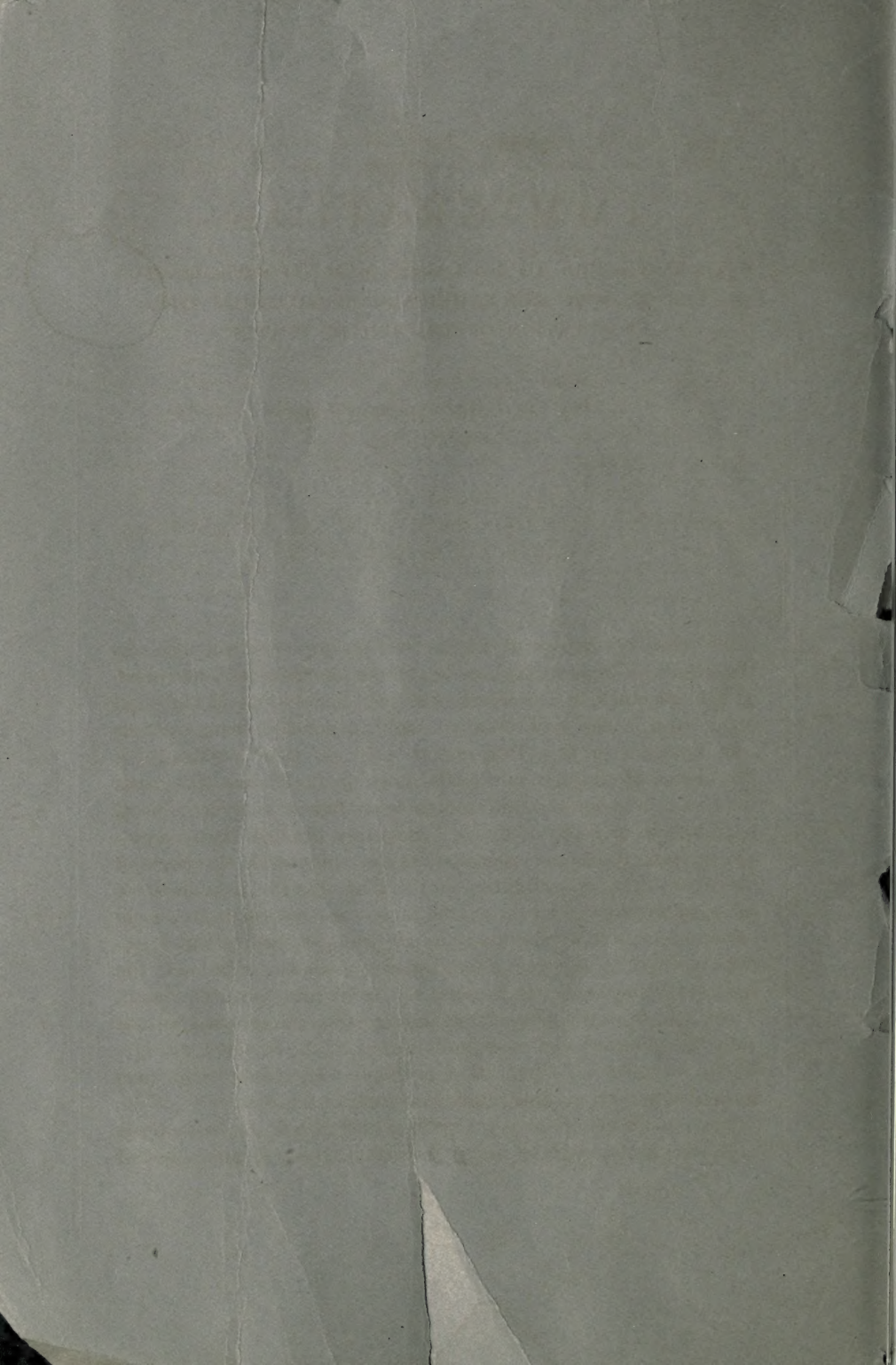
U.S. PUBLIC HEALTH SERVICE

PRESENTED AT THE
FIFTEENTH INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS ON HYGIENE
AND DEMOGRAPHY, 1912

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The early settlement of all the thirteen American colonies was the result of either English or Dutch commercial enterprise. The Englishmen or Dutchmen who held concessions of one kind or another in the New World sought to develop them to their own financial profit. They stood ready to take advantage of the unrest of those people whose position in Europe was, from time to time, rendered uncomfortable by reason of their political partisanship or religious tenets. But from the first the possibilities of emigration have appealed only intermittently to people of this sort. The opportunities of the New World have appealed far more constantly to those who have been restless from purely economic causes, to the land-hungry younger sons of the European yeomanry, the young professional man, the merchant, the trader, the mechanic, the laborer, the adventurer, and the scamp. Then, too, from the first as now immigration has represented not only the voluntary act of an individual, but the result of the successful commercial exploitation of those who would have been incapable of reaching this country on their own initiative.

The population of the new nation at the time of the first census in 1790 was found to be nearly 4,000,000, about equally divided

between the States north and south of Maryland. Of this population nearly 700,000, or over one-sixth of all, were negroes, held in slavery both in the South and North. No census had previously been attempted in any of the colonies. No effort was made to keep records of foreign passenger arrivals until 1820, and the foreign-born inhabitants of the country were not made the subject of separate census enumeration until 1850. Throughout the earlier history of the country we are, therefore, without definite statistical data to assist us in estimating the part played by natural increase and by immigration in determining the growth of population or its ethnical composition. Moreover, it takes little critical examination to show that some of the estimates that pass current with respect to these matters rest on very untrustworthy data. It, however, seems safe to say that by 1730 the population of the colonies was approaching 600,000. By this time also the political-religious disturbances in Europe which had been prominent factors in inducing the earlier colonization movements were losing their force, and immigration had already begun to partake more of the character of a response to a labor demand in a new nation. During the one hundred years preceding 1730 there had established itself here every distinctive racial, national, or social element that appeared in immigration to this country in appreciable numbers until late in the nineteenth century. So also for the greater part of the hundred years after 1730 immigration was a relatively unimportant factor in comparison to natural increase in determining growth in population.

Spaniards, Portuguese, Italians, Greeks, Scandinavians, and stragglers from various other European countries appeared in the American colonies at a very early date. So also did European Jews to a limited extent. But, as a basis for considering the ethnical composition of the white population of this country in 1790, it is practically only necessary to take into account three migratory movements which had set in from Continental Europe—the Dutch, the Huguenot French, and the Germans—and the larger and more promiscuous influx which had constantly been coming from the British Isles.

The first of these Continental migrations to be mentioned is the Dutch who came out to their American colonies, continued to come after these colonies passed into the hands of the English,

and have, with periodic fluctuations in numbers, been continuing to come to this country ever since. Incidentally also the Dutch planted a small successful colony of Swedes in the Delaware region about 1638, but this project did not give rise to any further Scandinavian immigration, and the colony owes its prominence in early colonial history to reasons other than the insignificant part it played in the growth of the population of the region where these Swedish colonists settled.

It has been variously estimated that during the three years following the revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685 France lost from 100,000 to 1,000,000 inhabitants. Large numbers went to Holland and England, from both of which countries a certain proportion subsequently made their way to the American colonies, scattering themselves from Maine to South Carolina. The exodus following the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, however, only marked the culmination of a French immigration to the American colonies which had already begun. French Huguenots had been quietly settling both in New York and New England for many years, and before the movement subsided it had brought hither French immigrants differing widely as to social status and locality of origin. How many of these French Huguenots came to the colonies first and last, we do not know. They figured most conspicuously in the less populous colonies of the South, but it seems to me very improbable that the aggregate of this immigration ever reached 40,000. Its subsequent influence upon American history was due to its character rather than to its magnitude. This Huguenot immigration was composed in the main of substantial people of high personal character who represented the most advanced stage of industrial development to be found in Europe at that time. Among the immigrants were men of exceptional ability, belonging to families long prominent in the public affairs of France. It is to these facts rather than to the amount of this immigration that the important influence of the French Huguenot element in subsequent American history is to be ascribed.

About 1680 or a little before the exodus of the Huguenots from France, German-speaking immigrants from the part of central Europe known as the Palatinate began to appear, in connection with the British immigration and the migration of the American

colonial population itself which was setting toward Pennsylvania at that time. Early in the next century impoverished German fugitives from the Palatinate to England began to be exploited commercially as a labor supply and potential colonists, and were dumped into Pennsylvania in large numbers. They did not prove adapted to succeed in the conditions they encountered, and became such a burden on the young colony that effort was made to check their coming. Somewhat later, however, a German immigration of a distinctly different character, including a large proportion of substantial, self-reliant and educated people, made its appearance, following chiefly the track of earlier German-speaking immigrants into Pennsylvania, whence it spread out somewhat toward the South. This German immigration appears to have been recruited largely, but not entirely, from southern Germany and the Rhine Provinces. With it came also some Swiss and Bohemians, although the Moravians, so called, who were associated in this movement, are to be regarded ethnically as German adherents to the Moravian Protestant sect rather than Slavs. The German immigration to the American colonies had passed its maximum by 1750 and appears to have dwindled to insignificant proportions by the time of the Revolutionary War. There seems, however, to be no good ground for disputing the estimate that one-third of the 435,000 inhabitants of Pennsylvania in 1790 were Germans.

In considering the part played by immigration from the British Isles during the colonial period, one cannot fail to be impressed with latter-day efforts to emphasize the importance, in the formative stage of the nation, of immigrants from Ireland. We see the number of men prominent in our early national history who, we are told, should be credited to Ireland, constantly increasing, and we are led to infer that we must correspondingly increase our estimates of early Irish immigration as well. In investigating the evidence on which it is asserted that such men are to be regarded as Irish, it will often be found that the claim rests merely on the fact that they have names borne by some people to be found living in Ireland. Beddoe has shown that 58 per cent. of Irish army recruits have family names common to both Great Britain and Ireland, and, while every American may not be able to prove that some paternal ancestor of his did not once live in

Ireland, many of them are able to do so, and the whole credibility of these recent Irish-American historians is weakened by the fact that they credit to Ireland men whose families, it can be easily shown, never saw Ireland, and claim as Irish settlements towns in this country which had been in existence a hundred and fifty years before they ever saw anything more than a few straggling Irish immigrants.

That there was an immigration from Ireland to the colonies, and that it made its appearance at a very early date in practically all the colonies, is abundantly proved by contemporaneous colonial records. It represented people who had emigrated from Great Britain to Ireland anywhere from a few years to a few generations before, both with and without admixture with the pre-existing Irish population. It also represented older Irish stock coming here, not only directly from Ireland, but after temporary domicile in England. It varied greatly in quality, contributing men who were prominent constructive forces in colonial development and also containing an element which continually aroused justifiable apprehension. As to the aggregate amount of this immigration, the evidence is so unsatisfactory that it is useless to speculate, but it can be safely affirmed that Irish immigration of the character referred to did not become an important factor in the growth of the population of this country until the later migration of Irish, which began early in the nineteenth century. There was, however, an important migration from Ireland in colonial times, the so-called Scotch-Irish, which should be separately considered, because, as has been said with some reason, it was neither Irish nor Scotch. It consisted of lowland Scotch and English people, whose ancestors had migrated to Northern Ireland in the latter part of the seventeenth century. The region whence these people moved over to Ireland was the part of Great Britain which most showed the effect of the early Danish and Norwegian invasions, and, unless the conclusions of modern anthropology be absolutely worthless, these Scotch-Irish immigrants were more Germanic in blood than those from any other part of the British Isles, except possibly the east coast of England. They began coming about 1720, and continued to form a conspicuous element in British emigration to the American colonies for fifty years. They followed the trend of the native American migration of the time

into Pennsylvania and the South, but also settled in New England and New York. How many came before this movement abated we do not know. But, while its aggregate could not have been anywhere near 500,000, as has been estimated, it was in numbers, as well as in its average standard of thrift and intelligence and in its subsequent influence on national life, one of the most important immigrations that appeared during colonial times.

Neither Scotland nor Wales has ever figured conspicuously in immigration to this country. Scotch emigration has tended rather toward Canada, but Scotch were among the earliest settlers in New England as well as in the South, and Highlanders as well as Lowlanders continued to come during the colonial period, as they have been doing steadily ever since, reaching us via Canada and directly from Scotland.

However much we may strive to emphasize the importance of the colonial immigrations I have mentioned, we are constantly confronted with evidence that the population of this country as a whole in 1790, from Maine to Georgia, must have been predominantly English. The dominance of English influences at that time can, of course, be hardly disputed; but take Rand and McNally's Atlas and run over the long list of place names in Pennsylvania, which some historians would make us believe was settled by the Germans and Scotch-Irish. That in this list there are many names which clearly bespeak the presence of German and Scotch-Irish pioneers only serves to accentuate the fact that the vast majority of place names in this State indicate the early presence of people of English antecedents. The English element in the population of this country is not to be ascribed to an early English Puritan colony in New England and an English Cavalier colony in the South, as might be inferred from some of our school histories. When the Puritans were founding their much-advertised colony on Massachusetts Bay, other English, not in sympathy with the Puritans at all, were settling other parts of New England, and at the same time English Puritans and other English who could not be regarded as Cavaliers were beginning to settle farther south. From those early colonial times down to the present a stream of English immigration has been steadily pouring into this country. The magnitude of this immigration is not realized, because English immigrants become so

quickly unrecognizable, but in its aggregate it has been enormous. Take it even from 1820 down to the present time, our English immigration, if that coming via Canada be taken into account, has practically equalled our Irish immigration, and has been exceeded in numbers only by the German.

In the one hundred years from 1790 to 1890 the white population of the United States had grown from about 3,300,000 to 55,000,000, and the 700,000 negroes had increased to nearly 9,000,000. For seventy years of this period, or after 1820, we have available more or less incomplete records of foreign passenger arrivals, erroneously called statistics of immigration. If the gain in the foreign-born population for any decade, as shown by the census reports, be compared with these so-called immigration statistics for the intervening ten years, it will be seen that the latter furnish about the same sort of basis from which to estimate growth of population of the country as the annual sale of ferry tickets in New York might offer for estimating the growth in population of that city. Using these statistics of alien passenger arrivals in conjunction with the census reports, we can, however, arrive at certain general conclusions as to the effects of immigration upon the population of the country during the last sixty years at least.

Since 1870, when the parentage of the population was first made the subject of census enumeration, about 50 per cent. of the white population have been either foreign-born (including Canadians) or persons of foreign parentage. It may be noted in this connection that, of such persons of foreign birth or parentage in the country in 1900, about 10 per cent. were natives of Canada or their children. One-fifth of the increase in the foreign-born population between 1890 and 1900 was due to the immigration of such natives of Canada, who for many years have constituted 10 per cent. of our foreign-born population, and have never been included in official immigration statistics except to a very limited extent. The figures for 1910 are not available. In considering the remoter effects of immigration upon the ethnical composition of the population, it should be remembered also that a considerable but unknown proportion of immigrants, varying with different nationalities, never leave any progeny behind them. So, too, some very suggestive but not absolutely conclusive in-

vestigations indicate that, while the average number of children to an immigrant woman exceeds the average of the native-born American woman, the number of children to the native woman of foreign parentage is markedly less than the average for the American-born woman of older stock.

About 1860 Scandinavian immigrants first began to appear in noteworthy numbers, and immigration from this source rapidly attained important proportions, but with this exception the only foreign people who contributed to the growth of the population of the country, to any appreciable extent, from 1790 until after 1880, belonged to exactly the same nationalities and races which had gone to form the population of the colonies at the time of the Revolutionary War. Within the last twenty-five years these nationalities, which had predominated in immigration from the earliest settlement of the country, have been steadily supplanted by a new immigration, different not merely in racial complexion, but in motive power, from anything that the country had hitherto known. Of this new immigration I will speak later. The older type of immigration has, however, by no means ceased to come, and, so far as the ethnical composition of nine-tenths of the white population of the country to-day is concerned, we still need practically only to consider the same racial elements which went to make up the population of the country in 1790. The relative proportion of these racial elements in the population has, however, been changed. In immigration since that date the Germans stand far in the lead. There have been about two-thirds as many Irish as Germans; probably about the same number of English as Irish, if immigration of both these national stocks from and via Canada, be taken into account; about one-fifth as many Scandinavians as Germans; and a total from Scotland, France, Switzerland, Holland, and Belgium about equal to the Scandinavians.

This country is, and always has been, remarkable for the mobility of its population. In 1900, 21 per cent. of the inhabitants of the United States were living in States other than those in which they were born. This movement of our population has not only determined the distribution of immigration, but has been the chief means of assimilating it as well, for immigration never leads, but always follows, the movement of our older population, or our own

capital, whether it be to the city, to the manufacturing centre, or to newly developing agricultural regions. Nothing could be conceived as better calculated to break down sectional, racial, or social isolation and promote the intermarriage of people of different races, or different ancestral stocks, than this mobility of our population; yet available information seems to indicate that anything like a promiscuous racial admixture of even the older national elements in this country has been proceeding very slowly. The tendency seems to be, where the population is sufficiently numerous and varied to permit of natural selection, for intermarriage to confine itself to what might be termed different varieties of the same human species. This tendency is indicated by the information regarding natives of foreign parentage to be found in the National Census Reports. In effort to carry this matter a step further, and to test the results of similar investigations reported by others, I have personally made an examination of marriage certificates filed in New York City. I selected New York not as necessarily representative of what is taking place in the country as a whole, but because I know of no other place where the population is so varied, where different ethnical elements are thrown so much together, or where barriers of language or race weaken so quickly. These marriage certificates give the names and birthplaces of the parents of both the bride and groom. When a parent was a native, I judged the national extraction from the person's full name. This investigation showed, of course, intermarriages across distinct racial lines do take place, but their number is surprisingly small when the total marriages are considered. Apparent instances of this sort, of marriages between persons of different foreign countries of birth, or between natives and foreign-born, are also markedly reduced, if marriages between persons of the same language and racial extraction be excluded. The native-born show a discrimination in marriage against the foreign-born of the same national extraction. This is manifest even in the case of the Irish, where language does not enter as a factor, and is remarkable in view of the fact that so many foreign-born come here very early in life.

Where mixed marriages have occurred in the case of foreign-born of native-born parents, there seems to be a tendency for the children to marry persons of the same national extraction as one

or the other of the parents. For instance, if the father of the bridegroom was German or of German extraction, and his mother Irish or of Irish extraction, my study led me to expect to find the bride to be of either pure Irish or pure German extraction. So, too, if a French name appeared in connection with the family of the bride, there would be a fair probability that I would find one in connection with the groom's family as well.

In fact, if we leave out of consideration the negro and the newer races, which have appeared in immigration within the last twenty-five years, it may be said that we have only been stirring about on this continent a little faster and in a somewhat different receptacle the same racial ingredients that have been moving about in northern and western Europe since the fall of Rome. Back of it, too, we find the same motive power, for, unlike Central and South America, the vast bulk of the people who have settled and developed this country have been tinged at least with the same restless Germanic blood. There has, of course, always been in European migration to this country a considerable element of which this cannot be said. So also there have been many factors which have gone to determine our history which could not by any stretch of the imagination be attributed to Germanic influences. But, practically, pure Germanic blood constitutes by so far the largest single racial ingredient which has been poured into this country down to the present that it becomes a matter of interest to try to see to what extent previous Germanic admixture in Europe may have entered into the rest of our immigration. This we are now able to do with a reasonable degree of assurance, since progress in anthropology has dispelled the time-honored delusion that language is an indication of racial extraction.

Our immigration from Belgium and France has represented varying degrees of admixture of Germanic with the older brachycephalic Alpine race. Probably our old Huguenot immigrants were chiefly of this Alpine stock. From western and southern Germany it would seem that our immigrants, like those of eastern France, represented varying degrees of admixture of the Germanic and the Alpine race. Also from some parts of Germany our immigrants have had a pronounced Slavic strain. But it is safe to say that most of our immigrants from Germany, as well as from Sweden, Denmark, Norway, and Holland, have been of

nearly pure Germanic stock, although Holland itself is not wholly Germanic, and in both Denmark and Norway there are distinct traces of the Alpine race.

Coming to the British Isles, we find that we are dealing with the representatives of several prehistoric races, neither Germanic nor Alpine, which have been partly pushed aside by, and partly mixed with, various Germanic stocks brought in by successive Germanic invasions dating back to pre-Roman times. In the light of more recent anthropological research it would appear that in England these Germanic invaders never supplanted the old British people to the extent that was formerly supposed, and that, while the east of England is markedly Germanic, inland and westward Germanic physical characteristics tend to become associated with the land-owning ruling class. In taking this evidence into account, it does not seem improbable that our enormous immigration from Anglo-Saxon England may have been more prehistoric British than Germanic in its ethnical composition.

In the Lowlands of Scotland and farther north, where chiefly the Danish and Norwegian migrations poured in, all around the coast, and in the Shetland and Hebrides Islands, in fact everywhere except in the Highlands of Scotland, the population, regardless of language, is predominantly Germanic, however it may have happened. What became of the Scots who are supposed to have gone over from Ireland or Scotland we may not be able to say, but, unless anthropology is absolutely worthless, our famous Scotch-Irish immigrants, whose grandfathers went over to Ireland from the Lowlands of Scotland, were far more Germanic than most of our immigration from England itself.

If natives of Ireland have any common temperamental characteristics, it must be due to some other cause than homogeneity of race. In Ireland, as in England, from the ninth century colonization by Norwegians and Danes, through Norman times, and by later migrations from Great Britain itself, the prehistoric races have been crowded by or mingled with invaders more or less Germanic in blood. As in England, the physical characteristics which these alien invaders have left in the population are more apparent in certain districts and in certain social classes, but in considering the sources of Germanic blood in our own

population our immigration from Ireland must not be left out of account.

But, while different races or nationalities may be regarded as possessing certain qualities or characteristics which have determined the part they have played in the world's history, it is the character and the possibilities of the individual immigrant himself that is of more practical interest to the country than the general attributes of the nationality or race to which he may happen to belong. Except for our negroes, all our immigrants who have come to this country in appreciable numbers up to within twenty-five years have been drawn from the races which have made the nations of north-western Europe represent the culmination of human advancement. These races as a whole have possessed qualities which have made these nations stand where they do, but none of them has ever been without elements of population which have failed to contribute to national development; and development and progress in itself has always been accompanied by the formation of a greater or less amount of social detritus really pathological in character.

In our immigration there is and always was to be found individuals representing all social distinctions and every conceivable motive that could induce or compel a man to leave his native land, but our immigration has never drawn proportionally from all the different social elements of the population of any foreign nation. Only at a few brief epochs in our history has our immigration contained a conspicuous proportion of people who have been active constructive forces in either the industrial or political life of the countries they have left. Fortunately, however, this country has thus far been able to offer opportunities which have appealed pretty constantly to the decent, energetic, normal, self-reliant European middle class, and to many lower in the social scale who have proved potentially superior to the social status they have previously been occupying abroad.

From the first the most potent single factor in determining the character and proportions of our immigration has been our demand for unskilled labor. From the first also this country has been burdened with a certain proportion of the social detritus of Europe. This type appears in the police records of the earliest settlements,—records that speak much for the general moral stand-

ard of the early colonies in that they show that moral depravity was obnoxious to public sentiment, and that laws relating thereto were enforced. Degenerate humanity has been coming here ever since, often under the guise of political and religious refugees, the downtrodden and oppressed, blaming others, as this type always does, for the conditions for which their own defectiveness is actually responsible. Such social detritus has come and is still coming as a response to a demand for cheap, unskilled labor,—a demand which neither this type nor their more degenerate progeny have the mental and physical capacity to fill. This demand for the cheaper class of labor has been insatiable. Efforts to supply it are accountable for the presence in this country of over 9,000,000 Africans. The crude method of collecting negro slaves has gone out of date. Through a process of gradual business development, emigration has been made available as a profitable business proposition to people who, by reason of poverty or lack of individual initiative, would otherwise be just as incapable of coming to this country as were African negroes in the seventeenth century. Such people need not, of course, be inherently incapable of becoming desirable acquisitions to our population, but the methods which make possible their coming certainly tend to favor the influx of backward and defective humanity. In fact, the chief practical interest that immigration possesses is due to the character of the elements which have come here as an unskilled labor supply, and in considering the effects of the immigration itself of any particular epoch we have also to consider the prevalent commercial devices for filling the labor demand.

To go back into the past. From early colonial times two methods of supplying the labor demand were in vogue, both involving a legal recognition of bondage. The one was the importation and sale of negro slaves, and the other a system of bringing in white Europeans, "redemptioners," as they were called, and selling their services for a stipulated period in payment for their passage. Some of these redemptioners may have been estimable people, but contemporaneous testimony is to the effect that, as a rule, they were about what might be expected. The labor demand also offered from the earliest times an excuse for assisting the migration to the colonies of paupers and criminals. It is estimated that during the eighteenth century, before the Revo-

lutionary War, 50,000 convicted criminals were deported to the colonies, and, while some may not have been convicted for what would have been regarded as criminal offences to-day, these figures probably do not adequately represent the criminal element that actually came.

From time to time, immigration of the character just described gave rise to such serious apprehension that various colonies enacted legislation designed to check it, but those interested in the traffic were always able to have such legislation set aside by the home government. Negro slavery, at one time universal in the colonies, had by the end of the Revolutionary War practically died out in the North, as it had proved unprofitable under the conditions prevailing there, and the sentiment regarding it in the South at that time is well shown by the fact that, when the Constitution was adopted, even those localities in the South where negro labor was indispensable were willing to agree to the prohibition of further negro importations after 1809. The sentiment against the importation of white redemptioners also made itself so strongly felt that the practice of bringing in immigrants and openly auctioning them off at the wharf on arrival to the highest bidder had ceased by 1820. The "redemptioner" idea, however, still survives, and in a modernized form makes possible a large proportion of our immigration to-day. Negro slavery has gone out of vogue, but under more modern methods Massachusetts is to-day still importing negro servants and agricultural laborers from the West Indies and Africa. So also, with all our elaborate legislation and bureaucratic surveillance, the stream of paupers and criminals has never been stopped.

The immigration which began after the War of 1812 and reached its culmination in the 50's may be regarded as reflecting a growing appreciation of the opportunities which this country offered to various elements of the population of northwestern Europe, but the magnitude which it attained was none the less due to an awakening to the commercial profits to be derived from a traffic in emigrants and the development of new methods of exploiting it. Increasing exports, particularly of cotton, served to bring this country in more frequent communication with Europe, and immigrants offered profitable return cargoes. The old sailing ship in the 40's got as much per head for carrying

immigrants as the steerage rate on modern liners to-day, and prior to 1847 it was customary for the immigrants to furnish their own food as well. In fact, the profits of the immigrant traffic in those days made the introduction of steamships on the north Atlantic a successful business undertaking. Conditions at that time were also particularly favorable to emigration, from the parts of Europe with which our trade relations were the closest. Ireland in 1750 had a population of about 2,000,000. Before 1840 it had increased to 8,000,000, and emigration, which meant to great extent assisted deportation, offered the only escape from starvation. All over Central Europe protracted political turmoil and consequent economic disturbance had made the population restless and ready to accept any proposition which promised a change. For the greater portion of the period of which we are speaking, the means of reaching this country was supplied by sailing ships owned largely in this country by individuals or small partnerships, lacking the resources to enter the business of soliciting passenger patronage themselves.

The same system was therefore used for obtaining immigrant cargoes as in securing freight. The designated agents of the ships at European ports bargained for emigrants in bulk with individuals who were led to specialize in the business of collecting emigrants because of the commissions and incidental profits to be derived from the traffic. These "emigrant agents," as they may be termed, stood practically in the same relation to the owners of vessels as shippers of any other portion of the cargo. With the institution of a regular passenger service across the ocean on a ticket basis, the emigrant agent became metamorphosed into a general ticket agent or passage broker, and his staff of field collectors into sub-agents. With the introduction of tickets in handling the traffic came also a new device for financing from this side the emigration of people who might be unable to finance their own emigration, the prepaid ticket. This innovation was followed by the establishment in this country of representatives or correspondents of European emigrant agents, and thus through a process of natural business development of the old emigrant agent idea Europe has been covered by collectors of emigrants; and in every immigrant colony on this continent are now to be found collectors of funds to make further immi-

gration possible, both working as parts of the machinery of a modern international commercial institution to facilitate migration or travel. Through a similar process of business evolution the ship-owners also have extended their activities by establishing branch offices of their own for the sale of tickets and by bringing independent passage brokers to accept an actual status of agents. Both ship-owners and emigrant agents have encountered governmental interference. In Europe it was early found necessary to curb the activities of "emigrant agents." In this country the existence of the passage broker has as yet been ignored and legislation concentrated on the ship-owner alone.

The importance of the part which the commercial methods just outlined have played in determining both the quantity and character of our immigration cannot be overestimated. The very basis of an intelligent understanding of the character and proportions of our more recent immigration is a clear realization of the fact that the cheaper class of steamship patronage is still secured on the old emigrant agent principle, through persons who stand in a relation to the steamship companies analogous to that of Cook's Agency with its tourist travel, and that, to paraphrase a familiar advertisement, one can go into the ticket office annex of a saloon in a foreign colony in this country at any time and, on payment of a fixed tariff rate, arrange to have anybody in Europe collected and delivered anywhere in this country.

What the conduct of the immigrant traffic lacked in the earlier days in the way of business organization was made up to some extent by freedom from effective legal interference. An emigrant agent might bargain with European municipal authorities to clean out an almshouse or insane asylum, knowing that the ship-owner could accept the inmates as a profitable cargo. A conspicuous proportion of the immigration for the twenty years preceding 1855 was of this character or worse, and became an immediate burden on the communities where it went. Moreover, during this period, immigration spread over the country a succession of serious epidemics, producing a popular fear of the disease-spreading possibilities of a newly arrived immigrant which still survives. A reminder of one phase particularly of the conditions of travel in old immigrant ships is found in an inscription on a stone in an old immigrant burying-ground in the outskirts

of Montreal, which reads, "to preserve from desecration the remains of 6,000 immigrants who died from ship fever A.D. 1847-48."

Yet, in spite of the commercial greed and dishonesty, the disease, misery, degradation, and poverty which were associated with the immigration for the thirty years preceding the Civil War, it probably contained as great a proportion of people equipped financially and otherwise to take advantage of the opportunities which this country afforded as ever before or since. But the great majority of those who came at this time, and were able and willing to work, found immigration a profitable venture because of demand for cheap, unskilled labor in the industrial development of the country then going on. Notwithstanding the incentives to emigration which prevailed in Europe, we can see immigration then as now fluctuating from time to time with the varying degrees of industrial activity here.

With the outbreak of the Civil War immigration nearly ceased, but before the close of the war had begun to revive and was tending to increase annually, when the industrial depression in the 70's again brought it to a stop.

In 1880 a large emigration from Europe suddenly made its appearance, and, owing to a tremendous movement from Germany, quickly surpassed in numbers anything that this country had hitherto experienced. At first it came almost entirely from the countries from which immigration came from 1840 to 1860, and back of it we find in those countries a repetition of the same conditions which acted as an incentive to emigration at the period mentioned with a new feature added, cheap ocean rates. The steamship companies which had displaced the owners of sailing ships in the Atlantic passenger trade were engaged in a war of extermination with each other. Rates fell as low as \$10, probably more than half of which at times went to emigrant agents as commissions.

In this decade we first see immigrants from Russia, Austria-Hungary, and Italy appearing in noteworthy numbers. This is not due to a natural expansion of the small immigration that had been for years coming from the countries named. The new movement was composed in the main of an entirely different type of people from those who had hitherto come from the countries

mentioned, and marks a new feature in the development of methods for supplying a certain labor demand in this country.

The Civil War not only stopped immigration, but it either killed or crippled for life about 1,000,000 of the able-bodied male inhabitants of the country. Moreover, its demoralizing influences gave a strong impetus at least to the formation of the tramp habit. After the war the dearth of unskilled labor began to be acutely felt, and attention was directed toward artificial methods of increasing the supply. Still further incentive was furnished to seek new sources of supply by the strikes and labor riots, which prevailed so extensively in this country in the 70's. Some experience had already been gained in methods of this sort. The Pacific Coast, which had failed to receive the full benefit of the immigration prior to the war, had resorted to the importation of Chinese, but the methods which characterized this traffic and apprehension as to the effect of the immigration itself brought about legislation which finally resulted, in 1882, in prohibiting the admission of Chinese laborers altogether. Labor employers accordingly turned their attention toward Europe, and the first important results were due to a system, put in successful operation by Pennsylvania mine owners and manufacturers, of importing Poles and Slovaks under contracts entered into with the laborers themselves prior to arrival. The successful operation of this scheme accounts for the sudden prominence of the immigration of the Slavs from Russia and Austria-Hungary in the 80's just referred to.

The system, however, aroused the opposition of the labor organizations of the country, and legislation designed to suppress it was passed in 1885, 1887, and 1888. About the same time Southern Italians began to be brought in for railroad construction work under the so-called Italian padrone system, the essential feature of which is the elimination of any knowledge on the part of the immigrant as to who his future employer will be, the immigrant coming virtually consigned to an individual whom the immigrant has selected as his financial agent and broker to dispose of his labor, and who has probably directly or indirectly already made the immigrant's coming financially possible. With three notable exceptions—viz., the Jews, the Russian Germans, and the Armenians—some special adaptation of one or the other of these

schemes is accountable for the rise into numerical importance of the racial elements from Southern and Eastern Europe and Western Asia, which since then have come to constitute two-thirds of our total immigration. The immigration from Greece, which sprang into prominence in the 90's, is due to the importation of fruit peddlers under a species of contract which amounted to servitude. Somewhat later and until checked by special legislation small Greek boys were imported to work in shoe-shining establishments under a similar system of bondage. The Syrian immigration, which since the World's Fair in 1893 has spread over this hemisphere from Labrador to Patagonia, has been recruited in practically the same way. But the modern labor supply of American labor employers has been obtained in the main through improvements on the Italian *padrone* idea, and to such improvement the methods of enforcing our laws prohibiting the direct importation of labor have in no small measure contributed. Under the more highly developed phases of latter-day methods the immigrant comes apparently as a free agent, and nominally destined to the care of a relative, real or fictitious, but actually consigned to a labor broker, who has acted in conjunction with collectors abroad in making the immigrant's coming possible.

The certainty that a quick market for the immigrant's labor exists makes it a profitable financial venture for some one to advance the prospective immigrant the cost of his migration, to be repaid from future wages at a usurious rate of interest, but neither the broker nor the immigrant may know in advance of the latter's arrival just where he is going to be placed at work. The replacement of the old agreement between prospective immigrant and future employer idea, by some form of this scheme, served rapidly to augment the migration of Poles and Slovaks, and to extend the movement to the Lithuanians, the Magyars, and within the past few years to the orthodox Russians. In a particularly efficient form this scheme brought about the Croatian immigration, which rapidly came into prominence in the 90's. From then on, with some variations and improvements, the system has been applied successively to the different nationalities to the eastward, and has recently shown marked results in the Turkish Empire. It was only a few years ago that an immigration of the Bulgarians and Greeks of European Turkey began to be worked

up in this way, to supplant on railroad construction work in the Middle West the Italians, who were joining labor unions and demanding higher wages.

The sudden industrial depression which followed the financial panic in 1907 caught those in this country who had been handling this sort of labor with consignments that had already been started from Europe when the panic occurred. As a result, during the winter hundreds of these newly arrived Turkish Bulgarians and Greeks became public charges in the communities they happened to reach, and the investigations by the Bureau of Immigration, which followed, fully disclosed the methods by which this immigration had been brought about. With the return of industrial activity, however, this type of immigrants reappeared in increasing numbers. New fields for their labor were also found. The Mohammedan Turks and Albanians of European Turkey joined in the movement. From European Turkey the movement has rapidly spread to the Turks of Asiatic Turkey, and from the Turks to the Kurds. Induced by somewhat different methods, an immigration of Tcherkese and Ochetchenes has also made its appearance.

In seeking new sources of labor, we are now at the threshold of Persia, where present political and economic conditions are ripe for a wholesale emigration, the vanguard of which has already started, making use of the Russian railway enterprises in the Caucasus and thence following well-established emigrant routes across Europe.

In this immigration from Eastern Europe and Western Asia which has come into existence in the last twenty-five years, we find, as previously mentioned, but three elements of numerical importance whose coming was not started as the result of efforts to obtain a new labor supply for the American market. The exceptions are the Russian Germans, the Jews, and the Armenians. The first are the descendants of Germans who were induced by Catharine II to settle in south-eastern Russia in considerable numbers about a hundred and twenty-five years ago. They come chiefly from the governments of Kherson, Saratof, and Samara. They are, in the main, farmers and land-owners, and are looking for new land, and more of it than they can now find purchasable at home. They come with well-defined plans as to the

general region where they intend to settle, and are usually prepared to buy land at once, but never until after they have seen it. Just now they are favoring Oklahoma, California, and the Canadian North-west.

In the case of both the Jews and Armenians we see a people well differentiated not only by easily recognizable racial physical characteristics from the general population of the countries whence they come, but by distinctive mental traits, by a religious organization, and, with few exceptions, by a language of their own. Their separateness has been further accentuated by their insistence upon special recognition and privileges from the political governments of the nations where they are found. Chiefly by means of their religious organizations both have continuously maintained a conspicuous degree of intellectual culture, dating back to the ancient Oriental civilizations of which they are the modern representatives. In intellectual capacity, in thrift, enterprise, and mechanical skill they are decidedly superior to the average of the general population which surround them. By their use of those qualities they have, however, aroused popular animosity and created a belief that they constitute a detriment to general economic welfare. As a result, their emigration in both instances has been encouraged by the dominant political powers of the countries where they were living, and has been favored and assisted as a philanthropic and religious duty by adherents in this country of the same religious organizations. The real exodus of the Jews to this country from Eastern Europe dates back to one of the periodic waves of popular resentment that manifested itself in Europe about twenty-five years ago, and emigration on the large scale which followed was due to organized assistance to the movement on the part of philanthropic Jews elsewhere and the financial resources supplied by the Baron de Hirsh fund.

The immigration of Armenians which appeared in the 90's followed in like manner an outbreak against them on the part of the Turks, and was likewise made possible by the interest awakened in Christian organizations in Europe and this country, and by direct financial assistance which they supplied. In both these instances, however, charitable assistance has long since ceased to be an important factor in maintaining immigration.

In whatever way the immigration of any people may first be

started, as each new arrival finds profitable employment, judged by his previous standard of living, the proceeds of his labor are utilized like an endless chain to make the coming of relatives or friends financially possible. Even in the case of people whose migration first appears as a virtual importation of a new labor supply, the rôle which organized commercial methods of importation may continue to play is soon obscured by the extent to which new-comers represent individual instances of financial aid on the part of relatives or friends already domiciled here.

Modern immigration is, in fact, financed by this country. Varying with different years and different seasons of the year, from 65 to 85 per cent. of our total alien arrivals, at a very conservative estimate, come either on prepaid tickets or on tickets purchased in Europe and Asia with money which has come from this country. Likewise, instead of being an asset, the money which the immigrant shows to the immigration officials on arrival is much more likely to represent a personal liability to hamper his industrial independence. There are good reasons, which I cannot take time to explain, why compiled official immigration statistics do not disclose this true state of affairs.

Nor does any new element in immigration remain long exclusively identified with some restricted industrial field which may first have engaged its attention. Marked growth in the immigration of any particular nationality or race has always followed the discovery of its ability to compete in other occupations which have hitherto been carried on by older elements of our population. The entrance of a new immigrant type in such occupations has tended to be followed by the disappearance of the people previously employed in the occupations concerned. In so far as the previous labor supply may have been derived from an immigration of an older type, that immigration is checked. That portion of our permanent population which disappears from the field is supposed to die out or pass on to something higher in the economic scale. To a certain extent this supposition is correct. The rapidity of the industrial development of the country has thus far offered exceptional opportunity for this latter process to take place. But there has always been a certain proportion of our older population that has thus been supplanted in the occupations with which it has been identified and has failed to rise

in the economic scale. Inefficiency of the nominal labor supply of the country has also furnished one of the strongest inducements to bring in new immigrant labor. We have been long familiar with elements of our population which are unwilling or physically unable to continue the humble toil of their immigrant progenitors and yet have never risen to anything else of a useful character.

One-third of our immigration to-day is made up of the very same European stock that has taken part in the development of this country since the earliest days of its history. Two-thirds of our present-day immigration is composed of nationalities and races that have furnished, at the most, but an insignificant proportion of our population until within the last twenty-five years. Those of us who are brought in daily contact with this newer immigration know that the nationalities and races represented therein vary in certain general characteristics. We also know how much different individuals of the same nationality or race, even from the same locality and social stratum, vary in physical strength and mental capacity, in intelligence, thrift, and standards of morality. In every such nationality and race we are constantly meeting people of the humbler class whose personal qualities we cannot help contrasting with those of individuals of the older immigrant type to the disadvantage of the latter. There will occur to almost anybody numerous instances where individuals of every nationality or race represented in this new immigration have shown abundant proof of their ability to take care of themselves after arrival. But to a considerable extent this immigration has been furnishing social and economic problems in the countries it has left. In our daily official duties we come to know as belonging to a normal human adult type the individual who cannot count to twenty every time correctly; who can tell the sum of two and two, but not of nine and six; name the days of the week, but not the months of the year; who knows that he has arrived at New York or Boston, as the case may be, but does not know the route he followed from his home or how long it took to reach here; who says he is destined to America, but has to rely on showing a written address for further particulars; who swears he paid his own passage, but is unable to tell what it cost, and at the same time shows an order for railroad transportation to destination, prepaid in this country. While physically this individual may

not be open to reasonable criticism, on the other hand we are equally familiar with another type in which mental activity is associated with glaring stigmata of physical degeneration.

As a matter of fact, we do not know yet the part that the great bulk of this immigration, which has sprung into existence during the last twenty-five years, is going to play in the future of the country. To a great extent neither these immigrants nor their American-born children have yet reached a stage of economic security. They have put in their appearance at a period of our development when unutilized natural resources of the country have become almost a negligible quantity. The industries which they have found open to them have often constrained them to live in an environment unfavorable to their physical well-being. Temperamental qualities, lack of mechanical aptitude and of physical strength, impose limitations on their ability to enter the more desirable productive occupations to a far greater degree than in the case of Western European immigrants. In their individual efforts to rise in the economic scale, they are meeting much keener competition than the older-day immigrants ever encountered. In such fields of industrial activity as they have succeeded in establishing themselves they will soon also have to meet the competition of the Western Mohammedan Asiatics, who are now following close on their heels. This competition has, as a matter of fact, already begun. The physical and mental qualities of these immigrants from Western Asia, together with their frugality and abstemiousness, make the outcome of such competition hardly a matter of doubt. Like the earlier immigration from Northern and Western Europe, the more recent movements from Southern and Eastern Europe will pass. There are indications that it has already begun to subside. Nor is Asiatic immigration going to stop with Western Asia. The stage of industrial development now reached in many parts of this country furnishes conditions in which other Oriental people, trained by generations of the keener competition of the more populous regions of Asia, are still more likely to find profitable opportunities. In some of our industries we are soon destined to see the East Indian supplant the European immigrant, just as the Lascar has displaced the British sailor on the sea. A start in Hindu immigration has already been made. That it has not gained

greater headway is due merely to the fact that thus far the methods by which this immigration has been handled have been out of date. Those of us who are witnessing the increasing difficulty in keeping out of the country obviously objectionable individuals whose exclusion is contemplated by existing immigration laws cannot believe that this nation will ever interpose an effective obstacle against the migration of any people on earth who may find it advantageous to themselves to come here. Not long ago the interests, the sympathies, and the prejudices of only Irish and German immigrants had to be borne in mind by the man with political ambitions. To-day he must appeal to the Slavs, the Italians, and the Jews as well. By 1920, if not by 1916, an Asiatic Mohammedan vote must likewise be taken into account. Restrictive immigration measures aimed at any nationality, race, or religion, are not only inconsistent with the theory of our government, but are inadvisable from the point of view of practical politics as well.

The existing anomaly in the shape of a discrimination against Chinese laborers is not likely long to survive. Its disappearance is the logical consequence of the attitude which we have taken in our treaty relations with Russia at the behest of the Jews, and commercial considerations as regards China itself are tending also to the same end. The restriction of naturalization to persons of the Caucasian race has already lost in a large measure any practical significance it may have originally been intended to have, and no one can doubt that it would not disappear altogether in the presence of any considerable Mongolian population in the country.

At the beginning of the twentieth century we have passed in our search for immigrant labor the threshold of Asia. We have now entered that continent in a natural way by stages of easy transition from the West. Unless the attitude of this nation with respect to immigration does not rapidly undergo a change entirely at variance with the tendency of the age, the ethnical ingredients of the future population of this continent are destined to be increased by waves of immigration of various Asiatic people, comparable to the movement from Europe during the century just closed.

